

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----116180 251846Z /42
O 251645Z MAY 78 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1921
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY AMAPUTO
AMEMBASSY GAOBORONE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 LILONGWE 0784

EXDIS
E.O. 11652 8 XGDS-1
TAGS: RH, UK, PDEV
SUBJECT: CALLS TO SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA

REF: STATE 131791; STATE 131792; STATE 132673

SUMMARY. CHARGE MET SEPARATELY WITH SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA FOR AN HOUR EACH, BOTH OF WHOM EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR US VIEWS. SITHOLE SPOKE OF FACT THAT INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WOULD COME TO STAY", THAT DOOR IS STILL OPEN TO NKOMO, THAT IDEA OF ALL-PARTY CONFERENCE IS DEAD, AND THAT THE AGAINST USE OF UN FORCES. HE BELIEVES NUMBERS OF REFUGEES AND GUERRILLAS COMING OUT OF MOZAMBIQUE ARE GROWING SIGNIFICANTLY. HE ASKED FOR USG ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES. MUZOREWA RESPONDED, LESS ELOQUENTLY, IN SAME VEIN. BOTH CALLED ON PRESIDENT BANDA WHO TOLD THEM TO STICK TOGETHER. END SUMMARY.

I CALLED ON REVEREND SITHOLE AND BISHOP MUZOREWA SEPARATELY EARLY EVENING MAY 24 AND PROVIDED POINTS ORALLY PER REF A.

SITHOLE (WHO WAS ACCOMPANIED BY HIS ASSISTANT, A MR. MAFARQBL
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EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION FOR THE MESSAGE CONVEYED AND ADDED THAT NO DOUBT THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL (EC) WOULD ALSO BE APPRECIATIVE OF IT. HE SAID THAT THE US IS SHOWING GROWING INTEREST IN RHODESIA'S PROBLEMS. HE PARTICULARLY APPRECIATED THE SENTIMENT EXPRESSED RE US-UK COMMITMENT TO NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT (PARA 1A, REF A). HIS OWN FEELING, HE SAID, IS THAT THE US CAN DEMONSTRATE ITS COMMITMENT BY SUPPORTING WHAT THEY (PRESUMABLY THE EC) ARE TRYING TO DO.

HE STATED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO CONVEY THE FOLLOWING TO THE USG:

A. MARCH 3 AGREEMENT IS A REALITY AND HAS COME TO STAY. IT REPRESENTS ASPIRATIONS OF NOT INDIVIDUALS BUT ENTIRE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF RHODESIA AS WELL AS THE GUERRILLAS.

B. EC IS A GOVERNMENT ALREADY, DE FACTO, AND IT IS "INCONSIDERABLE"

THAT IT WOULD UNDO MARCH 3 AGREEMENT. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE EC IS UNWILLING TO ENTER A DIALOGUE WITH THE US, UK, UN, OAU, AND FRONT LINE STATES, BUT "IT MUST BE RECOGNIZED THAT WE ARE A GOVERNMENT,

AND THE PEOPLE AND THE GUERRILLAS ACCEPT THAT FACT."

C. AS FOR PARTICIPATION OF ALL PARTIES, THE EC HAD AGREED TO INVITE THE PF TO TALKS BUT WERE TUNED DOWN, YET DOOR IS STILL OPEN. THERE IS NOTHING IN MARCH 3 AGREEMENT WHICH BARS EC FROM INVITING OTHERS, SPECIFICALLY NKOMO, TO JOIN AT THE EXECUTIVE LEVEL AND, IF HE DID, TO NOMINATE THREE MINISTERS AND EC MEMBERS. HOWEVER, THE EC IS NOT PREPARED FOR HIM TO COME IN ON SPECIAL TERMS; HE MAY COME IN "AS ONE OF US". MUGABE BELONGS TO ZANU AND CAN ALSO JOIN US.

D. IF EC RENEGOTIATES THE AGREEMENT AT A ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE, THIS WOULD UNDERMINE THE "GOVERNMENT" IN THE EYES OF THE PEOPLE AND PRESENT AN UNSTABLE SITUATION. RATHER, EC INVITES THE OTHERS TO JOIN AND DOES NOT WISH TO REOPEN THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT.

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E. AS FAR AS EC IS CONCERNED, THE IDEA OF AN ALL-PARTY CONFERENCE IS "DEAD". THIS IS EVEN THE VIEW OF THE PEOPLE AS A WHOLE, ALTHOUGH THEY WOULD WELCOME NKOMO COMING IN. THE AGREEMENT IS NOT FOR INDIVIDUALS, I.E., SITHOLE, MUZOREWA, NKOMO, AND MUGABE, BUT FOR ALL THE PEOPLE.

F. ANOTHER IMPORTANT POINT, HE SAID, IS THE QUESTION OF UN FORCES TO SUPERVISE THE TRANSITION. "FRANKLY, I AM DEAD AGAINST" THAT IDEA FOR THE SIMPLE REASON THAT ANY SOLUTION RESULTING FROM THE EMPLOYMENT OF UN FORCES WOULD BE HELD TOGETHER ONLY WHILE UN FORCES REMAIN IN RHODESIA.

SITHOLE STATED THAT AT HIS HOME IN SALISBURY ON EVENING MAY 23, FIVE RHODESIAN SECURITY OFFICIALS AND FIVE ZANLA GUERRILLA LEADERS DISCUSSED HOW THE TWO SIDES COULD COME TOGETHER AND HOW THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT, PARTICULARLY MINISTRY OF DEFENSE, COULD BRING TOGETHER ALL THE GUERRILLAS AND RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES TO SOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES. THIS IS

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-----016121 302150Z /42

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FM AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IACT IMMEDIATE 1922
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THE MOST LASTING WAY OF SOLVING THE MILITARY PROBLEM. THE VARIOUS
SIDES AGC ALSO MEETING AT LOCAL LEVELS INSIDE RHODESIA. THUS,
THE POLITICAL BATTLE HAS BEEN WON AS FAR AS WE ARE CONCERNED;
IT IS NO LONGER A PROBLEM OF CEASEFIRE BUT THE PEOPLE WANT TO KNOW
WHERE THE GUERRILLAS WILL FIT IN, HOW THEY WILL GET JOBS AND IN
GENERAL REINTEGRATE INTO RHODESIAN SOCIETY. NEVER BEFORE, HE SAID,
HAVE BLACK AND WHITE SOLDIERS COME TOGETHER TO HIS HOUSE WISHING
TO ASSIST IN THE TRAYHIFION; THUS, NO NEED TO ENTERTAIN IDEA OF UN
FORCES. WHEN NKOMO RETURNS, ZIPRA WILL BE TREATED LIKE ALL THE
OTHERS.

SITHOLE SAID THAT WITH REFUGEES AND GUERRILLAS NOW RETURNING,
PROBLEM OF SUPPLIES FOR THEM IS PRESSING. REFERRING TO THE HUNDRED
OR SO REFUGEES NOW IN MALAWI, HE SAID THEY WOULD LIKE TO GO BACK
HOME BUT HE HAS NO MONEY TO FLY THEM, OR PROVIDE FOOD, CLOTHING,
SHELTER, BLANKETS OR MEDICAL SUPPLIES. HE WANTED TO KNOW IF THE
USG COULD HELP, WHICH WOULD BE ONE OF THE BEST WAYS TO GET THE
US RECOGNIZED BY ZIMBABWEANS AS LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD. HE ADDED
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THAT THE GUERRILLAS COMING IN SHOULD NOT BE DISAPPOINTED BY A FAILURE

TO SUPPLY THEM. THUS FAR, OVER 500 HAVE COME IN (HE DID NOT SPECIFY WHERE THEY HAD GONE) SINCE THE AMNESTY WAS ANNOUNCED AND HE BELIEVES THE NUMBER IS GROWING RAPIDLY.

MUZOREWA ALSO EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE PRESENTATION. HE THEN OBSERVED THAT ALL ZIMBABWEANS HAVE STRUGGLED AND FOUGHT FOR LIBERATION OF THEIR COUNTRY, FOR MAJORITY RULE, FOR A CHANGE FROM UNJUST SYSTEM. IN DECEMBER SMITH SAID HE WAS READY TO TALK ABOUT INDEPENDENCE. NOT JUST "TALK ABOUT TALKS", AND NATIONALISTS ACCEPTED ONLY ON CONDITION THAT THERE WOULD BE TRANSFER OF POWER FROM MINORITY TO MAJORITY. BUT UNTIL NOW, THE OTHERS HAVE NOT COME IN AND ALLOWED THE NATION TO CHOOSE ITS LEADERS, RATHER THEY CONTINUE THE WAR. IF PEOPLE (READ US AND UK) REALLY MEAN THEY ARE NOT SIDING WITH ONE SIDE OR OTHER, WHY DON'T THEY TALK TO THE OTHERS? IN APRIL HE RAISED THE PROBLEM WITH SECRETARIES OWEN AND VANCE THAT AN ALL-PARTY CONFERENCE WOULD NOT ACHIEVE TRUE STABILITY. WHY DOES NKOMO NEED A FACE-SAVING DEVICE? NKOMO AND MUGABE APPEAR TO BE TOGETHER BUT EVERYONE KNOWS THEY SIGHT EACH OTHER FIRST BEFORE THEY FIGHT SMITH; ONLY 2-3 PERCENT OF NKOMO'S FORCES HAVE MOVED INTO RHODESIA, THE REST ARE WAITING UNTIL A GOVERNMENT IS ESTABLISHED IN ORDER TO FIGHT MUGABE.

MUZOREWA SAID WE SHOULD PUT OUR MONEY WHERE THE ACTION IS, NOT SOMEPLACE WHERE LITTLE IS ACCOMPLISHED. "IF YOU ARE ALL INTERESTED

IN THE 'LIBERATION' OF JOSHUA NKOMO, YOU SHOULD SWALLOW YOUR PRIDE AND LET THE ZIMBABWE PEOPLE DECIDE." THIS IS NOT A THREAT, HE WENT ON, BECAUSE THE YOUTH ARE NOW MAKING A LARGE OUTCRY ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF CUBANS COMING IN (HE DID NOT MENTION SOURCE OF THAT STATEMENT). YOUTH NOW CLAMORING TO BE SENT TO WHERE THEY CAN
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GET THE BEST TRAINING TO FIGHT, ISRAEL OR SOMEPLACE ELSE.

MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE MET JOINTLY WITH PRESIDENT BANDA MORNING MAY 25. SITHOLE INVITED ME BACK FOLLOWING MEETING WITH BANDA. HE SAID IT WAS BRIEF MEETING AND HE GAVE BANDA'S IMPRESSIONS FOLLOWING LATTER'S VISIT TO US AND UK. BANDA TOLD THEM THAT US AND UK (A) ARE NOT INTERESTED IN MARCH 3 AGREEMENT, (B) CONSIDER SMITH TO BE ON WAY OUT, AND (C) CONSIDER CHIRAU AN UNKNOWN AND THEREFORE OF UNKNOWN CONSEQUENCE. BANDA UVE SITHOLE AND MUZORLA ADVICE THAT THEY MUST SETTLE DIFFERENCES AND WORK CLOSELY TOGETHER, THEREBY ENSURING THEIR CONTROL OVER RHODESIA'S EVENTUAL POLITICAL FUTURE.

BANDA TOLD THEM THAT THEY MUST ENSURE THAT THE MARCH 3 AGREEMENT (A) REMAINS ACCEPTABLE TO THE PEOPLE, (B) IS WORKING PROPERLY, AND (C) ATTAINS THE OBJECTIVES DESIRED.

SITHOLE DEPARTED MAY 25 FOR JOHANNESBURG AND THEN LONDON.

COMMENT: BOTH INDIVIDUALS APPEARED SELF-CONFIDENT, PARTICULARLY
IN THEIR VIEWS ON AN ALL-PARTY CONFERENCE AND ON ON HOW NKOMO
SHOULD JOIN THEM. THEY APPEARED EAGER TO RECEIVE ME.
SHEINBAUM

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